2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

All these Kinship dues are acquiring a good deal of importance 423

 432

at the moment, since there is a chance of making money by the sale of millet or vegetables. Where a husband may not have exercised his claims to property in the form of food, and is anyhow obliged to put his wife in charge of it, he tends to consider that money from the sale of produce is his alone, and irresponsible characters sometimes dispose of food for low prices early in the year, leaving their families in want. I noticed also that the husband's relatives sometimes tried to make money in this way. In a modern village near Kasama I saw a man's sister claim all the money obtained by his wife from the sale of pumpkins at exorbitant prices to labourers in the district. She took 1*s.* 6*d.* from her sister-in-law and gave her back 3*d.*, saying to me, 'Well, my brother cut her the garden, so the food is his.'

Prerogatives of Age.

Besides this balance of claims between the affinal relatives, the elder kinsmen in general have certain rights over the food in a young couple's granary. The woman's mother and elder sister can come and demand baskets of grain from her, while the man's elder brother also asks for food when he needs it. These dues are usually exacted as between elder sister and younger sister—usually own sisters—in each case the two refer to each other as 'My great one' (*umukalamba uandi*) or 'My little one' (*mwaice uandi*). The same holds true as between elder brother and younger brother and the same terms are used. An elder sister is very likely living in the same village as her junior, sharing supplies with her. In this case she merely exercises her rights over luxuries like beer or snuff, or perhaps commandeers some flour already ground. If, on the other hand, she has married into another village she occasionally comes and claims baskets of food if in need and has the right, denied to a more distant relative, to climb up the steps to her sister's granary and look at her store. Elder and younger brothers are usually living in different villages according to the rule of matrilocal marriage, but I have known a senior send to his young brother to claim a pot of beer. The father has no legal claims on his children, and I was told he would not send to ask his sons or daughters for food, but that they would give him presents 'out of respect' and he would come and stay with them. The mother, as we have seen, claims rights over the food of her son as well as her daughter. The *nalume* of the man can make

423 888

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

241 rubble of the walls and digging it into the ground till it is soft. The following year the house-site (a rough circle of about fifteen feet in diameter) is hoed over and maize and pumpkins sown on it, as long as the soil remains fertile, after which tobacco or sweet potatoes take its place. This intensive use of old village-sites is likely to have increased importance in urban areas where the villages tend to shift very little. For instance, round Kasama the villages tend to move a quarter of a mile or so from one site to the other—and they make up for want of new land by growing maize, pumpkins, and tobacco—all plants needing rich soil—in ground where their old houses have rotted. The size of the maize plants grown on these *ifitantala* looks as though the increased use of this old practice would be a very successful one as long as the people do not want to build permanent brick houses and thus rob themselves of the use of this refuse soil.[1]

The map in the Appendix shows how the village Kampamba shifted from one site to another contiguous one and continued to cultivate its old house-sites, and the example given below will illustrate the use of the *ifitantala* more clearly.

241 177 *Mound cultivation in a modern village.* I give the following description of mound cultivation in a particular village for several reasons. First, it happens to show clearly the variations in the soil often found between the different strips round one village, and hence the degree of experimentation that is necessary when cultivating the village beds. Secondly, it shows the degree of individual variation in efficiency that exists, and this is specially marked in a modern village of the type described. Thirdly, in this village the people were actually making an effort to adopt fixed cultivation, and their methods of adaptation are of interest in that respect.

241 ●432 177 Kungu Village, near the Government Station at Kasama (visited March 1934), had remained fixed in the same spot for ten years, i.e. twice as long as the average Bemba village. Natives admitted that much of the garden soil was bad, but declared they did not want to leave the present site because it lay along a good bicycle path to Kasama, three miles off, where twenty-two out of the twenty-eight taxable males in the village were at work, and where it was possible to find a sale for vegetables and milk to

[1] There are of course other reasons in favour of the brick house—a raised standard of living, &c.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

Europeans,[1] and beer to Africans resident in the town.[2] The houses had, therefore, been rebuilt twice since the founding of the village in 1924, but one site was only a hundred yards or so from the other. A third re-building was being planned during my visit on a site also in the near vicinity. Hence it is likely that this village may remain fixed for a period of twelve years, instead of the usual four or five.

The soil round this village varied tremendously. Some of the cultivators were gardening on a strip of light, sandy soil covered with scrub, and of these nine failed completely, even though four could probably have produced better results by hoeing more thoroughly. In a series of newer gardens, thirty-three gardeners were cultivating a different type of soil round the present village. Of these thirty-three, eighteen had made successful gardens—twelve on good soil, four on bad ground enriched through village refuse, and two because the owners, two elderly widows, 'had hoed so much that they managed to get food out of sand'. Ten gardeners had failed, seven through the poverty of the soil, two through not weeding sufficiently, and one because old potato runners had remained in the soil and were 'stealing the food of the maize'. Twenty-six other gardens had been made on better soil some distance away near the river-bed, and here the proportion of success was much higher. Thirteen of these gardens were on black loamy soil, and eight on the rich black mud of the river bank; two on a streak of clay; one on sand and two on the edge of an old village site. Of these twenty-six gardens, nineteen were successful, six were still being tried, and only one was a failure—said to be due to insufficient hoeing. On the other hand, those gardeners who were growing maize on the deserted house-sites of their village were nearly all successful. This maize was two or three feet higher than that on the surrounding village beds, and only two out of the fifteen disused house-sites were failures, due to want of judgement in sowing the patch too soon before the rubble of the old house had dissolved in the rain. Thus it will be seen that, of the total number of gardens, twenty out of ninety-two, or nearly twenty-two per cent., were unsuccessful, chiefly, in native eyes,

[1] Four inhabitants owned between them fifteen cows, nine sheep, six bulls, and three goats.

[2] The brewing of beer for sale is, though illicit, one of the few means of livelihood open to an elderly single woman, and many widows or deserted wives drift to the villages near the town for this purpose.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

226 backwaters nets can be set by one method or another practically
227 throughout the year.

Other methods. The Bemba also fish with hooks (*amaloba*) baited with fish and slung on a rope across a big stream, when the waters are low in August, but I never saw this done. Younger men say this method was introduced by the white people since they know that fish hooks are now only to be obtained at European stores. Older fishermen told me that, on the contrary, this type of fishing was practised from the earliest times, and that the Bemba 'always' knew how to make rough iron hooks for the purpose.

A few fish are said to be caught on the Chambesi flats when the floods are falling by means of plaited screens of grass (*uluangwa*) by which the women cut off small fish from the stream, but, indeed, when the waters are drying up at this season odd fish are caught here and there in all sorts of ways. I have often seen casual passers-by step off a raised pathway through fields flooded to a depth of six inches and catch fish of about ½ lb. to 1 lb. in their hands in the grasses, or else spear them (*ukumela*).

226 To summarize, it can be said that the Bemba who live near the
463 smaller streams of the district are for the most part unskilled
184 fishermen, and rely on the low waters of dried up rivers, and flooded banks to catch a few fish at certain months of the year, but never get sufficient to dry or trade. They have no organized system of exploiting the resources of the rivers or definite leadership in this activity, but catch whatever they can during the breeding season, or before the fish are full grown.[1] In the regular fishing villages, on the other hand, the activity is almost continuous throughout the year. There are four or five different methods of fishing practised, and the men are universally employed in this pursuit. They value their reputation as skilled fishermen and know a considerable amount about the different types of fish caught. Though there is not sufficient fish caught to permit of regular trading, yet it is quite common for a man to be able to pay his 10*s.* tax by sporadic sales of dried fish.

226 6. *Fishing rights and ceremonies.* Fishing rights, like the rules of
423 use of land, cannot be considered apart from the peoples' beliefs as to the spiritual ownership of food resources. The produce of

[1] How far the people are destroying their supplies of fish by this means does not yet seem clear. Cf. Report on the fish of Lake Bangweolu by C. K. Ricardo and R. J. Jones, December 1936.